

New Imperialism: The Control of India's and South Africa's Resources

California Education and the Environment Initiative

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Competing Interests on Mount Shasta



Rising 14,162 feet into the sky, Mount Shasta's physical prominence symbolizes its cultural and commercial significance. The towering volcanic mountain is the ancestral home of at least five California Indian tribes. Its resources support many industries central to the region's economy.

The name "Shasta" evolved from California Indian and European words used to describe the mountain. Early explorers looked to Mount Shasta for guidance, in the most literal sense of the word. Seeing the peak meant they were nearing the end of the long journey from the East to the West. Documented explorations of the area date as far back as the late 1700s. Scientific writings from the American Wilkes-Emmons overland expedition of 1841 were part of the founding collections of the Smithsonian Institution.

By the mid-1800s, industry began moving into the Shasta area. Land surveys published by the Pacific Railroad contain detailed color illustrations of the area's botany, ecology, and anthropology. The 12 volumes have been called America's "first environmental impact



Mount Shasta

statement." Their publication attracted people to the region's rich natural resources and brought about an increase in the mining, logging, and tourism interests in Mount Shasta. Water bottling interests and utilities followed. By the beginning of the 20th century, many competing interests had a stake in the land use decisions on and around Shasta. Along with these competing interests came controversy.

Development on the Mountain

Life on and around Mount Shasta has changed significantly over the past century. The many uses of the area resources have continued to expand. Adventurers now scale the summit. Scientists study the mountain's unique ecology and monitor its geologic activity. Developers build resorts for skiers, mountain bikers, and others who enjoy recreational pursuits. Power companies drill wells to access geothermal power. Loggers harvest timber from the forests. Artists seek inspiration from the towering, snow-clad peak. A vast array of Shastian literary works, art, and folklore is evident at the local bookstore. After several years of legal battles, one bottling company recently received water rights to the aquifer under Mount Shasta.



Mountaineering on Mount Shasta

Over the past 20 years, those living in the shadow of Mount Shasta have seen many changes in the control of "their" mountain and its resources. While cultural and environmental concerns have arisen from the economic growth, the development has also benefited the local community. Revenues from royalties and taxes help pay for schools, health care, and roads. Shasta's geothermal resources provide relatively clean power for much of the area. The region's landscape supports a vibrant tourism industry based on mountaineering, hiking, skiing, fishing, and cycling.

Competition and Controversy

Local leaders have tried to maintain harmony between the different interests (stakeholders) competing for Mount Shasta's resources. However, this has become difficult with the influx of outside interests attracted to the economic potential of the mountain's resources. In 1994, a coalition representing California Indian and conservationist interests sought help from the federal government. They filed an application to list Mount Shasta on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). This Department of the Interior

designation would regulate land use and require a review process for any development on the mountain.

The main groups involved in seeking the decision to designate part of Mount Shasta as a place of "historical interest" were California Indian tribes, conservationists, and businesses. Each of these three major groups had a different perspective and a different interest.

For centuries, Mount Shasta provided everything the Wintu, Shasta, Modoc, Achumawi, and Assegai people needed to live. The streams yielded salmon and freshwater mussels. The forests provided deer and acorns. The grasslands supported game and supplied important plant fibers for baskets. The tribes used the region's volcanic stone to make tools and its plants for medicines. Mount Shasta continues to be a central force in the physical

and spiritual lives of its native people. A sense of duty and reverence is common. Tribal members carefully prepare for any travel up the slopes and they rarely cross the timberline. After ceremonial use, they carefully returned sacred sites to their original, pristine state. California Indians feel that development threatens sacred sites and their livelihood.

The mountain's remoteness and wealth of natural resources represent a rich ecology treasured by conservationists across the U.S. For example, several plants in the Shasta area do not exist anywhere else in the world. Unfortunately, several of Shasta's unique animal species became extinct in the late 19th century due to human predation and disease.

The mountain has long had allies in preservation. Joaquin Miller spent a year living with an Indian tribe at the base of Mount Shasta. His diary was later published as the classic novel, Life Amongst the Modocs: Unwritten History. Another California hero, John Muir, the famous preservationist and naturalist, wrote many stories of the beauty and spirit of Mount Shasta. His mountaineering feats may only be surpassed by his efforts to educate the world about California's rich natural heritage. Muir's writings



Salmon



Panther Meadows

include many stories of the beauty and spirit of Mount Shasta. Conservationists spearheaded the effort to list Mount Shasta on the National Register. They continue to monitor industry applications for leases or permits, speak up during public comment periods, and travel to Sacramento and Washington D.C. to meet with decision makers.

The water, timber, and rock in the Shasta area offer valuable resources to people in the state and beyond. Developers, industrialists, and private landowners were concerned

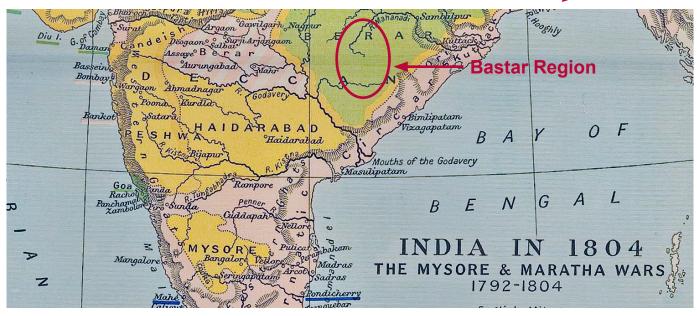
about limits on access to and development of resources if the NRHP designation occurred. Private landowners feared that the NRHP designation would take away their property. Their philosophy comes from the perspective of managing the land to benefit humans. and they sought to oppose government involvement in the management of Shasta's natural resources. Preserving the balance between human interests and the mountain environment has proven to be as challenging as ascending the summit.

1994 Decision

The decision to put Mount Shasta on the National Register of Historic Places took six years of work. Supporters collected vast amounts of information, drafted numerous documents. and conducted many stakeholder hearings and meetings. Because of this process, most of Mount Shasta became eligible for the NRHP in 1994. However, the response of some stakeholders caused the federal government to revisit its decision. Ultimately, the 19,000 acres above the tree line and an area called Panther Meadows received the designation.

Many supporters welcomed the decision, but many stakeholders remain unhappy. They do not want the Department of the Interior involved in managing the natural resources on and around the mountain. Conservationists continue to work with agencies and industry to protect areas not covered by the National Register designation. Life for the people in the community around Shasta has grown more complex due to the mix of local and federal overseers. Despite this, most stakeholders seem to agree that careful use of the mountain's resources will benefit generations to come. At the same time, they hope that thoughtful management will protect the region's unique wildlife and wildness.

The Bastar Rebellion of 1910



Map of Bastar region

On February 17, 1910, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Clementi Smith received some unusual orders from the British military. They asked him to prepare his troops to go to Bastar, in central India. They also asked him to send ahead 225 rifles and 1 machine gun. The local police in Bastar needed help stopping a local rebellion against imperial rule. Before these orders, Smith's troops had only been doing drills and not actual fighting. Smith remembered, "until the first rumors of a rising were mentioned in one of the daily papers, no one seems to have ever heard of the place. One imagined it to be some small territory too insignificant even to be shown on an ordinary sized map, but greatly to one's astonishment it turned out to be a state of over 13,000 square miles situated in the Central Provinces."

The Bastar Region Before 1910

Bastar is a large region in central India. However, it is not surprising that Smith had never heard of it. It was a heavily forested area and its population was primarily tribal Indians.

The tribal groups of Bastar had a different lifestyle from the British imperialists, especially in their relationship with the environment. Earth was their main object of worship, and the natives believed that Earth gave them their lands for cultivation. They set fire to the brushwood in the forests to aid their hunting. They also practiced a form of agriculture that British soldiers like Smith found unusual. Instead of farming the same patch of land every year, native tribes practiced shifting cultivation, a process to rejuvenate the soil. This type of agriculture requires changing farmland after only a few years of cultivating it. As a result, the tribes needed more land for survival compared to those who cultivated the same land year after year.

As the British built railways, forested areas became more accessible. The timber industry grew, transforming land used by local Indians for subsistence farming into forest reserves for harvesting trees. In addition, clearcutting caused extensive soil erosion. Finally, in 1878, the colonial government passed the Indian Forest Act, which took away the rights of rural populations to use forestland. Between 1891 and 1910, Great Britain tried to turn one-third of Bastar's forests into forest reserves. These reserves put the forests entirely under imperial control. A forest officer, E. A. Rooke, described the British reasons behind the forest reserves:

The main object of this reservation of these areas is the setting aside of them for the production of heavy timber for export purposes only, also for the production of smaller timber for meeting the requirements of adjoining states and British districts and local consumption of special natures, and for the supply of nomadic grazing where such will interfere with the conveniences of local residents. To gain these ends, outside destructive influences must be kept out; therefore, people of the state must generally find their wants elsewhere than from the reserves.

This new policy required imperial officials to deport entire villages of Indian people living in the forests. They also had to stop the tribal practice of shifting cultivation.

Direct control greatly affected the tribal way of life. The Indians had to now pay for items that they had traditionally taken by right, such as timber. The British placed restrictions on what parts of the forest they could use. They could no longer access the land they needed to grow crops to survive. The British also disrupted the relationship that the tribal people had with their sacred Earth. One forest ranger noted that the tribal people "always said that they can't go to any other village than those

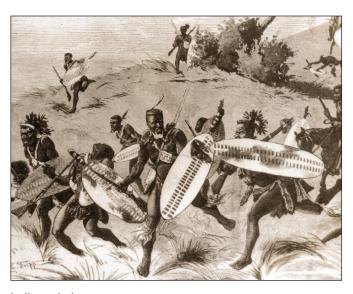
in which their ancestors had lived for centuries together. They seem to be much prejudiced as they think they would sustain a great loss of life and property if they occupied any other village than those belonging to their forefathers."

British imperialists influenced Indian life in other ways as well. They forced tribal people to work for them building roads and towns. This work often required Indians to be away from home for months at a time. Indians often missed harvesting their crops. The British also built schools for Indian villages. Indians valued the opportunity for education; however, many found the British schoolmasters were abusive.

Rebellion

By 1910, the local Indians of Bastar had seen much of their way of life change due to imperial rule. The British took away Indian access to forests and restricted their agricultural and hunting activities. They also required dues for grazing and they forced Indians into labor. As a result, local Indians began to meet to discuss their problems.

In January of 1910, members of the Parjas tribe met with Lal Kalandar Singh, cousin of the king of Bastar State. These Indians were from



Indian rebels

Nethanar, one of the first villages affected by the Forest Act. They complained that the king had joined with the British to oppress them. The Parjas and Lal Kalandar Singh pledged to fight the British, confident that their god would turn English bullets into water. They also agreed to fight anyone who supported British imperialism, including the King of Bastar. Then, they sent messages of mango boughs, lumps of earth, chilies, and arrows to other villages, inviting them to join in the rebellion.

Although village leaders led the rebellion, elite Indians, those who worked with and benefited from the British, took part as well. Many local elites resented direct imperial rule because they had lost some of their land to forest reserves; and no longer could use the forests for personal economic gain. These elites joined with tribal groups to plan a rebellion against the British.

By February, the rebellion was in full swing. Rebels looted bazaars across the state, killed traders for their exploitative practices, and attacked government and immigrant property. They primarily destroyed signs of imperial rule. Rebels stole mail and destroyed runners' huts and mailboxes. A crowd of 500 people chased and beat to death a trader named Nursab Khan. Even the royal family aided in the rebellion, helping to cut the telegraph lines and looting homes of outsiders. A missionary named William Ward remembered the British reaction during the rebellion. He recalled, "From all directions came streaming into Jagdalpur, police, merchants, forest peons, schoolmasters, and immigrants."

William Ward was in a tough position. He did not work for the imperial government. As a missionary for the Methodist Mission, he had contact with both the British imperialists and the tribal groups. During the rebellion, Ward acted as a go-between for the rebels and the imperial soldiers. The native peoples trusted him as a mediator, but he also informed the British of the rebels' plans.



William Ward

Suppression

The British used missionaries and native Christians to help stop the rebellion. Lt. Col. Smith described what happened when he first encountered rebel troops:

We had with us a few native Christians from the Mission who could understand the language of the rebels and these also were sent into the south to several of the groups of rebels who were visible to us. They managed to persuade a few of them that they weren't immediately going to be killed and brought them to us. The situation having been carefully explained to these rebels, they also were sent back to bring in their friends. This plan seemed to bear fruit as shortly afterwards several large bodies of rebels came in and surrendered. They seemed to be of all ages and quite tame, not the bloodthirsty ruffians we had been led to believe. They were apparently of two sorts, Mariahs and Muriahs, the former being the hill men

whilst the later came from the plains. Bows and arrows, axes and spears were their chief equipment. Some were armed, others were not, but we subsequently discovered that those who came in without arms had hidden them in the bushes when they came in to surrender.

A forest ranger in Jagdalpur, the capital of Bastar, also recalled the military suppression of the rebellion:

> The military force arrived in Jagdalpur in buses and trucks. This arrival of the military contingent in motor vehicles coincided with the tribals' withdrawal from the police attack. They were amazed to see a vehicle moving without horses or any force. They ran to the road to observe them. The military commandant asked the vehicles to stop and the soldiers to spread throughout the groves and collect all weapons of destruction. In the meantime, he engaged the tribals by showing them various parts of the vehicle. He then ordered the tribals to collect near the palace at Gol Bazaar and moved on. Towards evening, these tribals, suspecting nothing, assembled there, where they were arrested and thrashed (tied to imli trees and whipped). Thus, the suppression of the rebellion started which took about three months.

The British still had to deal with the rebel camps surrounding the capital of Bastar, Jagdalpur. The rebels sent written and verbal messages, as well as mango branches and bloodstained clothes. back and forth between February 16 and 22 as a way to show their anger. Since ancient times,

mangoes have been grown on the Indians' lands. The mango tree is sacred to both Hindus and Buddhists, so sending the branches most likely symbolized their goal of protecting their sacred land and sacred forests. The bloodstained clothes most likely symbolized the blood that was and would be shed over the conflict. The British finally surrounded the camps to force negotiations. The natives refused to put down their weapons because they needed these weapons to survive.

By the end of the rebellion, the British had captured over 900 tribesmen armed with only bows, arrows, and spears. The British punished tribal rebels by whipping them and sending them home. They hanged the rebel leaders or sent them out of the region. According to a British political agent, the rebels needed to learn that "they could not with impunity flout the overtures made to them, not only by their chief by also by the officers of the British government deputed to deal with them." British official reports of the time claimed that the punishment was "just, necessary, and in the interest of these forest people generally, in the truest sense, humane."



British Indian Army

After the Rebellion

Following the rebellion, the British refused to see the forest reserves as the main cause of the fighting. They did temporarily stop work in the reserves and reduced the number of reserves by half. They also made efforts to curb the influence of imperial rule on life in the local villages. Finally, the British closed 17 out of 36 police stations and reduced the number of schools in Bastar as a way to punish the rebels. The British hoped the tribesmen would see how Britain was helping them.

These actions did not completely solve the problems. The school closings upset many Indians. Even though they disliked the way the schoolmasters treated them, they wanted education. Indians were also upset that the British required all 65 villages that had participated in the rebellion to pay large fines. Finally, even though the rebellion was over, many Indians still could not return to their native lands.

In the early 1920s and 1930s, the Indian National Congress, established in 1885 and dedicated to Indian self-rule, led campaigns to abolish the Forest Act. During the civil disobedience movement, Mohandas Gandhi encouraged violation of the forest laws. In Maharashtra, nearly 60,000 villagers marched their cattle into government forests, and in the Satara

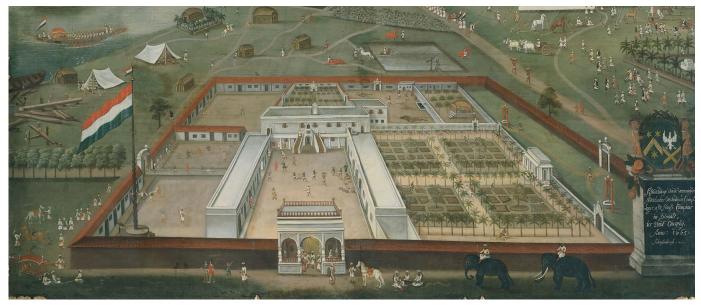
Indian rebellion hangings

district, peasants refused to pay the grazing fee for cattle that wandered onto forestlands. In 1936, some tribal people illegally moved back into forest reserve lands. They feared that their god would punish them if they did not return.

Even in the late 20th century, anthropologists found native families living in the forest reserves. One anthropologist described his 1992 discovery:

Yesterday, we visited Badri Mur, a recent settlement of about 30 landless families straddling the Kanger National Park and Reserve Forest. It is the site of an old village that was included in the reserve boundary. For three years, the forest department tried to remove them. Accompanied by the police, they would pull down the houses and break the bunds. The women would come out waving poles and sticks, and each man in the village has been arrested 20 times. Badri Mur is one of many such villages fighting court cases about what the state defines as 'encroachment' and what the people define as their 'right to cultivate land to satisfy their hunger.'

South Africa Narrative



Dutch East India Company factory, 1665

The Dutch Traders

South Africa is located on the southern tip of Africa. Because of its location, Europeans valued it as a trading port. In the 16th century, European nations started exploring trade possibilities in South Africa, but European influence was minimal until the arrival of the Dutch in the 17th century.

Founded in 1602, the Dutch East India Company traded extensively with South Africa during the 17th century. It developed a trading base at the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch dominated the slave trade in the early 17th century. The company gave land to its employees and brought slaves from tropical Africa to build roads and a military fort. It enclosed the land surrounding the Cape, at the expense of local African farmers. Within a decade, the Cape had become a large colony.

The presence of Dutch colonizers greatly influenced local South African groups. At first, indigenous groups befriended the traders, but they soon found themselves displaced from their homes by colonial expansion. One tribal group, the Khoikhoi, completely disappeared because of Dutch colonization. They lost their lands, and smallpox, a disease brought to the region by Dutch traders, ravaged their population. By 1713, the indigenous pastoral society around the Cape was declining due to disease.

British Colonization

The British captured the Cape from the Dutch in 1795. As a result, they gained control over many different peoples. The region was populated by tribal Africans and slaves who had been imported from tropical Africa. There were also a large number of Dutch farmers, called Afrikaners. Some Afrikaners were ranchers. As their numbers grew, they forced the tribal Africans off their lands. In many cases, Afrikaners made slaves of the indigenous Africans they had displaced.

At first, the British did not consider the region



South Africa British Settlers, 1853

valuable. They used it primarily as a stopping point between Great Britain and Asia. Until the late 1860s, South African exports included wine, wool, elephant ivory, and animal hides.

The British exercised indirect control over South Africa, making African chiefs into lesser imperial officials. However, the British presence greatly influenced those living in the region. The British attempted to conquer the surrounding African farm communities many times. In one instance, they set fire to the crops and villages of the Xhosa peoples. Although the Xhosa fought back, they could not defeat the British who had destroyed their crops and thus, their food supply. After making peace with the British, the Xhosa faced another calamity. A lethal cattle disease from Europe spread through their herds. Some villages lost more than 80% of their cattle, their most valuable possessions. The Xhosa believed that their misfortune was a punishment from their gods. In 1857, the Xhosa sacrificed many of their cattle. Historians estimate that they killed 400,000 animals. At least 40,000 Xhosa died of starvation as a result. By 1858, many had left their way of life to become laborers in other villages.

Afrikaners also saw the British as a threat to their way of life. To get away from British control, many Afrikaners migrated north and northeast in what became known as the Great Trek. Between 1836 and 1837, about 14,000 Afrikaners left British-controlled South Africa. They soon came into conflict with the Africans living in the north. The British did not want a war between Afrikaners and local tribal groups, believing that such a war could spread into British territory. As a result, the British allowed the Afrikaners to form two independent republics in northern South Africa. These republics were the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal).

The Discovery of Minerals

Great Britain sought to increase its control over South Africa after two discoveries. In 1867, local miners discovered diamonds near the town of Kimberley. Larger diamond deposits existed deep below the surface of Earth. Mining for these diamonds required advanced technology. As a result, the British easily gained control over the mining business. They placed the diamond fields under their direct control in 1871. The British also conquered the Zulu Kingdom in 1879. The Zulu Kingdom had been the most powerful African state in South Africa until that time.

In 1886, prospector George Harrison discovered the Witwatersrand gold reef near the town of Johannesburg in the Afrikaner state of Transvaal. There, gold stretched for 40 miles. Similar to the diamond mines, industrial operations soon replaced individual miners. By 1890, the gold fields had completely transformed the region from a rural area to the economic hub of South Africa.

The Boer War, 1899–1902

British control over South Africa became unstable after the discovery of diamonds and gold. The diamond and gold mines were located in the Transvaal region, a region controlled by the Afrikaners. In 1884, Germany gained control of the land next to the Transvaal on the coast of West South Africa. After the discovery of gold, Europeans flooded into the region. The British feared that Transvaal Afrikaners would join with the Europeans to overthrow British rule. As a result, they tried to keep the Transvaal region isolated from other European nations. They also attempted to force the Afrikaners to become part of the British Empire.

In 1895, the British government tried to overthrow the Transvaal government. Their attempt, called the Jameson Raid, was a complete failure, but it made Afrikaners aware of Britain's goals. As a result, the Afrikaner states declared

war on Great Britain in 1899. At first, the British lost many battles. However, in 1900 the British began to capture Afrikaner towns. The British put over 116,000 Afrikaner women and children into concentration camps where about 28,000 of them died from disease. The Afrikaners finally surrendered in 1902.

Even though two white European groups fought the war, it affected black Africans greatly. Under colonial rule, they could not carry weapons. Instead, they had to do labor for each side. Many dug trenches, collected firewood, drove wagons, and acted as guards and scouts. When the British captured Afrikaner farms, black Africans living there also ended up in concentration camps. In these camps, white prisoners received food, but



Diamond mine in Kimberley, South Africa

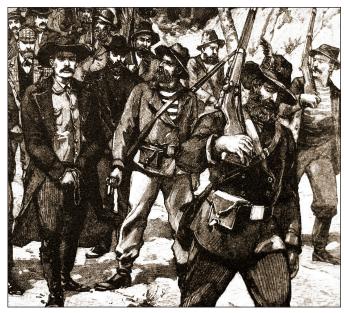
Africans had to grow their own food and build their own houses. By the end of the war, 107,344 black Africans were in the camps, and 14,154 of them had died.

Lasting Effects of War

The British government supported the war, but not all British citizens did. Many viewed the war as a fight for natural resources at the expense of ordinary citizens. Criticism over the war in South Africa led many to question British goals in other areas of the world. As a result, British citizens began to criticize the empire. The Boer War is considered Great Britain's last "imperial" war.

After the war, Afrikaners gained more rights to South Africa's resources. Great Britain had problems keeping South Africa under direct control. Then, Afrikaner leaders asked to join the British Empire. As a result, the British and Afrikaners joined territories to form the Union of South Africa in 1910. Great Britain gave this new nation the right of self-government.

Black Africans did not benefit from independence. Instead, the post-war peace increased racial segregation. Prior to the Boer War, Africans could not own mines, and the miners had to live in compounds outside the city. They had to carry passes wherever they went and were



Arrest during Jameson Raid

often searched. In the new nation, black Africans had no political rights, and they could not enter the city center without a pass. They were forced onto the worst lands. By 1904, skilled jobs were off-limits to black Africans. By denying good jobs to African workers, South Africa's officials greatly increased the economic gap between blacks and whites in South Africa. In addition, by forcing the African majority to live and farm on poor soil, the South African government contributed to erosion and desertification in the region.



Urban slum, South Africa





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